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in making the world safe for democracy, cannot sympathize fully with a play that flatly contradicts Plutarch's account in order to represent the Roman populace as completely fickle, incapable, cowardly, and subject to demagogues.

ALBERT H. TOLMAN.

The University of Chicago.

THE FORTUNES OF LAMARTINE IN SPAIN

Larra, in his review of Martínez de la Rosa's poems (*Revista Española*, No. 91, Sept. 3, 1833) remarks that the day of Gessner and Meléndez is passed in Spain, and that that of Lamartine and Byron has arrived. "Buscamos más bien," are his words, "*la importante y profunda inspiración de Lamartine*, y hasta la desconsoladora filosofía de Byron que la ligera y fugitiva impresión de Anacreonte."

The famous critic seems to have been somewhat impressed by the importance of the work of Lamartine to the then unformed Romanticism of Spain. When in 1835 he wishes to characterize the bucolic poems of J. B. Alonso, it is with Byron and Lamartine that he contrasts him (*Revista Española*, No. 484, Feb. 19, 1835),¹ and we meet so constantly collocations like "Chateaubriand y Lamartine," "Walter Scott, Casimir Delavigne y Lamartine," "Victor Hugo y Lamartine," that it is quite superfluous to cite references. To Larra Lamartine was certainly one of the foremost Romantic poets of the day.

But he had also been recognized in Spain as a leading Romantic

¹ "Examinemos el libro en venta, no ya comparando a nuestro autor con lord Byron o Lamartine, puesto que su género es tan distinto que difícilmente se le pudieran hallar puntos de contacto."

The collocation of Byron and Lamartine, which to modern ears sounds strange, may well be due to the latter's preoccupation with Byron. Cf. *Diario Mercantil de Cádiz*, May 6, 1827, where an anonymous writer even says of Byron: "El más sobresaliente de sus imitadores ha sido el francés La-Martine." An article in the *Revista Española* of May 23, 1834 (on the *Moro Expósito*), which some have thought to be by Larra, insists upon the essentially different character of the Romanticism of Byron and Lamartine.

more than ten years before. The importance of the cosmopolitan *Europeo*² in the evolution of Spanish Romanticism is generally recognized, although its influence may perhaps not always have been as great as its merits warranted. Among the literary notices and reviews written by Aribau as early as 1823 we find the following:

M. A. de Lamartine, ya conocido por sus *Meditaciones poéticas*, ha publicado una nueva producción de su raro ingenio que hace concebir a su patria las más bellas esperanzas. Su título es *La Muerte de Sócrates*. La única noticia circunstanciada que tenemos es el ventajoso anuncio que de ella hace el diario de debates del 14 de setiembre último, el cual cita fragmentos verdaderamente apreciables. Todos llevan el carácter de las ideas religiosas que descubre ya el autor en sus primeras composiciones: sus ideas son sencillas, su expresión enérgica y elegante.

Then follows a short extract from the review mentioned, translated into Spanish.³

Yet, when we turn to the part which Lamartine actually played in the formation of Spanish Romanticism, we are reminded that the *Europeo* was not an entirely representative Spanish journal. The influence of the poet, indeed, seems to have been very small: in the first half of the nineteenth century he is little but a name in Spain. The only translations of Lamartine in book form, for example, which I have found, prior to 1850, are the following:

Poesías entresacadas de las obras de A. de Lamartine, traducidas por el Marqués de Casa-Tara (D. T. M. de Berriozabal); Madrid, Aguado, 1839. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.)

Viaje a la Palestina; Valencia, Cervera, 1844. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.)

Viaje al Oriente, traducido por . . . ; Madrid, Madoz, 1846. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.)

Historia de los Girondinos; Madrid, 1847. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; as is also a translation published in Mexico, 1848.)

Rafael, páginas de los *veinte años*, traducidas por V. Balaguer. Barcelona, 1849. (In library of the University of Barcelona.)

Hidalgo adds (but I have not traced these):

Viaje a Oriente; Córdoba, 1840; Paris 1843.

² See, for a general account of this periodical, *Modern Language Review*, October, 1920, pp. 375-382.

³ *Europeo*, 1823, p. 355.

Historia de los Girondinos; Madrid, 1847; Madrid, 1847-8; Sevilla, 1847-8.

Rafael, Madrid, 1849 (three translations).

Las Confidencias, 1849.

Compare with this the following chronological list, which represents translations published in book form subsequently to 1850:⁴

1850. Historia de la Revolución de 1848 (together with several undated translations of the same work).

1851. Historia de la Restauración (two separate translations, and there are two more bearing no date).

1852. El Civilizador. (Retratos históricos.)

1851-2. Historia de los Girondinos.

(1853. Historia de la Restauración, published in Mexico.)

1853. Genoveva; Toussaint l'Ouverture. (Translated as "Dos perlas literarias.") Graziella (Hid.).

1854. Historia de los Girondinos; Graziella (Hid.); Rafael (Hid.).

1856. Graziella (Hid.).

1857. Piconpedrero; Genoveva; Rafael (all Hid.).

1858. El Civilizador.

(1860. Las Nuevas Confidencias, traducidas por J. J. Borda; Bogotá, 1860. In British Museum.)

1860. Picapedrero de S. Point; Graziella.

1860. Genoveva (popular and recent translations of which are also listed in the *Biblioteca rosa* and the *Biblioteca selecta*).

1864-6. Las Confidencias, Nuevas Confidencias y Ultimas Confidencias.

1864. Biografía de Colón. (Also published in the *Biblioteca universal*.)

1875. Jocelyn.

1876. Cicerón.

1886. Regina.

1887. Regina.

1904. Historia de los Girondinos.

1913. Jocelyn.

1913. Jocelyn.

1919. Graziella.

The significance of these two chronological lists is clear. In spite of the recognition by Aribau, Larra, and others of the merit and importance of Lamartine's contributions to literature, his

⁴I have suppressed the full details in this list, as the individual translations are less important than the earlier ones. All these translations are to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional, except where the name of another library is added to the title.

poetry found but little acceptance in Spain. Neither the *Méditations poétiques*, which heralded French Romanticism in 1820, nor the *Nouvelles Méditations* (1823), nor the *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* (1830) seem to have been translated in their entirety. A volume of selections, published in 1839, is all that takes their place before 1850. The fact that Chateaubriand's accounts of his journeys had already had some vogue in Spain may account for the two comparatively early translations of Lamartine's travels.⁵ *Raphaël*, it will be noted, was translated in the very year of its appearance by the alert young *literato*, Victor Balaguer. But the earlier collections met with little or no welcome.

Lamartine's historico-political writings, on the other hand, met with a reception which contrasts strongly with that accorded to his verse. The "History of the Revolution of 1848" is translated in 1850; that of the Restoration is translated in the year of its appearance in France, and that twice; by 1853, further, it has appeared in Mexico. The *Histoire des Girondins* also comes out four times in Spanish in the year of its original publication; it is published the next year in Mexico, and is twice more translated into Spanish within the next six years.

The notices of Lamartine appearing in the Spanish press bear out the estimate of his influence in Spain which is suggested by the bibliography given above. In 1825 a writer in the *Ocios de Españoles emigrados*, which was published in London from 1824 to 1827, compares Heredia's poetry with the "tinte melancólico y severo de Mr. La Martine."⁶ In the same year *Variedades*, Blanco White's organ, also published in London, prints a rather tardy review of the *Méditations poétiques*.⁷ But both these writers were in a country where Lamartine was already known. Into Spain he penetrated less quickly.

⁵ Though the complete translations did not appear till 1844 and 1846, it is worth placing on record that *El Español* (Nov. 14, 1835) published a fragment from the *Voyage en Orient* in the year of its first appearance in French.

⁶ IV, 516.

⁷ II, 218 ff. Lamartine and Casimir Delavigne appear to serve as a pretext for a lengthy article on contemporary literature in general, but Blanco White goes so far as to say: "La Martine es sin disputa el mejor de los poetas que hoy viven en Francia," to give three long selections from the *Méditations*, and to add a short appreciation of them.

It was the end of 1832 before the *Diario de Barcelona* published some translations, of which the best is a version of *Le Soir* (from the *Premières Méditations*). Of this the writer, speaking of Lamartine, says: "Ha sabido vestir los grandiosos conceptos del lírico francés con la enérgica naturalidad de Rioja y la sonora afluencia de León . . . un digno modelo de la profundidad, novedad y filosofía."⁸

Eugenio de Ochoa, writing in the *Artista* for 1835, shows a knowledge of the *Méditations* by quoting at length from Nodier's preface to the eleventh edition (Gosselin, 1824).⁹ Fermin de la Puente in 1838 translates Lamartine's verses on the death of his only daughter, *Gethsemani, ou la Mort de Julia*, and prints the translation in the *Revista andaluza* three years later.¹⁰ In the *Revista española de ambos mundos* for 1853 there is a translation of Lamartine's *Graziella*,¹¹ which had first appeared in French in the preceding year. But the majority of these notices and single translations are belated; and most of the biographical and critical articles are not primarily concerned with Lamartine as a poet at all.¹²

The Lamartinian work of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda should perhaps be cited as an exception, and though much of it belongs to a later period, she may well be mentioned at this point. In *El Español* for 1841 she published a translation¹³ of Lamartine's *Bonaparte*, and this is re-published, not in its original form, but with certain emendations and additions, in her collected works (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1869, I, 29-34) as an "imitation" entitled *A la tumba de Napoleon en Santa Elena*. The opening stanzas are more correctly an exact translation,¹⁴ and throughout

⁸ *Diario de Barcelona*, Sept. 10, 1832, and Sept. 23, 1833.

⁹ *Artista*, 1835, I, 86-90.

¹⁰ *Revista andaluza*, 1841, pp. 431-7.

¹¹ I, 74-96; 203-224; 334-357.

¹² An unsigned article in the *Alhambra* (1839, II, 59-60) is typical when it speaks of him as one of the many "apóstoles populares de ideas útiles y generosos sentimientos."

¹³ It had previously appeared in the *Alhambra* (published in Granada) for 1840, over the writer's pseudonym of "La Peregrina."

¹⁴ Sobbre un escollo, por el mar Sur un écueil battu par la vague
batido, plaintive,

it would be more correct to term the poem (even in its emended form) a free translation than an imitation. The same translator's *Adios a la lira* (ed. cit., I, 266-8), however, is, as it professes to be, an imitation of Lamartine's *Adieux à la poésie*, which, like *Bonaparte*, is to be found in the *Nouvelles méditations*; and a final tribute¹⁵ is her *Dedicación de la lira a Dios* (I, 387-391), which bears the subtitle "Composición inspirada por una bella invocación de Lamartine." This last probably owes its inspiration to the *Invocation* of the *Harmonies* rather than to the better-known poem of the same name which appeared in the *Premières méditations*. The resemblance is, in any case, one of theme and spirit, and not of letter or of form; la Avellaneda repeats and accentuates the tone of self-abasement, lengthening the poem, varying the metre, and making explicit what Lamartine's lines often only imply. Apart from these translations and imitations there is much in the religious inspiration of la Avellaneda's poetry which recalls Lamartine, though her debt to Victor Hugo,—even to Parny—could no doubt be shown to be equally great.

But whatever small success Lamartine attained to in Spain as a poet was very soon outshone by his reputation as a politician and a historian. The student may consult the review *El Pensamiento* (1848-9), which devotes more space to the poet than any other contemporary journal which I have seen. There are some translations entitled *Escenas d'ela revolución francesa*.¹⁶ Lamartine is "el poético historiador de los Girondinos," says an introduction, referring further to his published defense of his conduct, and sympathizing with his fall. There is no space, nor is it well,

El marinero desde lejos mira	Le nautonier, de loin, voit blan-
De una tumba brillar la blanca	chir sur la rive
piedra,	Un tombeau près du bord pur les
Y entre el verde tejido	flots déposé;
De la zarza y la hiedra	Le temps n'a pas encore bruni
Que unidas flotan en flexibles	l'étroite pierre,
lazos,	Et sous le vert tissu de la ronce et
Sobre la humilde losa se des-	du lierre
cubre	On distingue un sceptre
¡Un cetro hecho pedazos!	brisé.

¹⁵ Apart, that is, from various indications, such as epigraphs, which bear testimony to her study of Lamartine, *e. g.*, I, 60, 65, 93.

¹⁶ *El Pensamiento* (in the British Museum), I, 17 ff. (Oct. 8, 1848.)

continues the note, to discuss the rights and wrongs of the matter; it is better to let Lamartine speak in his own defense. Then follows the extract referred to.

In the same journal, besides several short biographical and other notes,¹⁷ there is an article on *Raphaël*,¹⁸—"un libro bellísimo, . . . escrito con tal raudal de poesía, de pasión y de sentimiento, que os recuerda las bellas páginas de *Romeo y Julieta*, de *Pablo y Virginia*, o de *Lucia di Lammermoor*." A summary of the argument and some long selections follow. Then the narrative suddenly stops short with the words: "O jamás libro alguno ha conmovido los corazones, o *Rafael* debe conmoverlos todos. Lamartine ha sembrado en él, a manos llenas, toda esa poesía admirable del cantor de las *Meditaciones* y de las *Armonías*."

We may read also in this review a life of Lamartine,¹⁹ which, though it gives full weight to the literary importance of the *Méditations* of 1820,—perhaps the first article in Spain to do so—is chiefly occupied with his political writings. There are in addition some selections from the *Confidences*,²⁰ and a translation from the *Voyage en Orient*, headed simply *Jerusalem*.²¹ It is true that the *Confidences*, with *Raphaël*, only appeared in 1849, and that the writers responsible for these articles are, therefore, well abreast of the literary calendar. But the context suggests that the interest in the poems of Lamartine had arisen from that of the prose, rather than the prose from the poems, which one might have expected to have been the case. Any reader of the *Pensamiento* will see that the main interest of these notices, which are so prominent in it, is other than poetical.

It should be added, nevertheless, that Lamartine did eventually find his way, in a somewhat more worthy fashion than heretofore, into Spanish verse and the history of Spanish literature, partly through the work of la Avellaneda, and partly through a number of poets who flourished mainly in the decades 1860 to 1880. But it

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 31, 176 (Jan. 22, May 28, 1849): "Lamartine escribe en el día un poema titulado *Rafael y la Historia de la Revolución de 1848*, libro esperado con vivísima y justa impaciencia."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 33-4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 41-2, 49, 50.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 57-8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 105-7. The article has no explanation or account of its source.

will be realized on examination that these belated disciples are disciples almost by accident. Narciso Campillo (1838-1900), one of the foremost and first of them, translated Lamartine in the sixties, as he translated Victor Hugo and others, as part of the tribute to Romanticism paid by the Andalusian followers of Rivas and Zorrilla.²² Teodoro Llorente (1836-1911), living at the other extreme of the peninsula, was a translator by predilection, and Lamartine shares the honors of his industry with Goethe, Longfellow, Schiller, Byron, Vigny, Gautier, Musset, and not less than a score of other eminent poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³ There was, no doubt, something in Llorente's temperament which drew him to Lamartine, as there was, above all, in the temperament of Amos de Escalante (1831-1902),²⁴ in whose verses we have that very inspiration of religion which marks the best of the *Méditations*, and without prompting direct translations (for all are not translators) makes us recognize Lamartine continually. But such a case is intensely individual and demands separate treatment.²⁵

E. ALLISON PEERS.

The University of Liverpool.

²² See *Poesías*, Sevilla, 1858, and Cadiz, 1867.

²³ Llorente's chief translations from Lamartine may be consulted in *Poetas franceses del siglo XIX* (Barcelona, Montaner y Simon) and in J. Navarro Reverter's *Teodoro Llorente, su vida y sus obras* (Barcelona, Granada y Cía). They are: *El Lago*, *La ventana de la casa paterna*, *El caracol de mar*.

Cf. the confession of his preference for Victor Hugo and Lamartine, cited by Navarro Reverter, *op. cit.*, p. 36. "Quería asimilarle la poesía del uno y del otro, y con este objeto, por pura fruición propia, sin ulterior propósito, dí en traducir sus versos. ¡Qué horas tan deliciosas, y a veces tan intranquilas, huyendo de las gentes, a solas conmigo mismo, pasé ocupado en aquella dificultosa labor! A nadie la daba a entender; temía que la profanasen ojos extraños."

²⁴ See *Poesías de D. Amos de Escalante, edición póstuma precedida de un estudio crítico por D. M. Menéndez y Pelayo* (Madrid, 1907).

²⁵ I have said nothing of Lamartine's influence on Juan Arolas, a subject which my friend Sr. Lomba y Pedraja has studied so completely in his work *El P. Arolas, su vida y sus versos*, Madrid, 1898. Here (pp. 125-135) he not only shows how Arolas both imitated and copied Lamartine, but also discussed at some length the respects in which he resembled, and those in which he fell short of him.